

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ACDA-07 SAJ-01 OMB-01 TRSE-00 CIAE-00

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PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 COME-00 EB-07 LAB-04

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R 060819Z SEP 76
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
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INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMCONSUL MUNICH
USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 14020

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, ELAB, UR, SP
SUBJECT: SPAIN-USSR: CAMACHO, CARRILLO AND RECOGNITION

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REF: MADRID 6473

1. SUMMARY. ON AUGUST 30 PCE LEADER MARCELINO CAMACHO ENDED
TWO WEEK VISIT TO USSR MADE ON INVITATION OF SOVIET TRADE UNIONS.

VISIT GOT MODERATE PRESS PLAY, MOSTLY IN TRUD, TRADE UNION ORGAN. PRAVDA, HOWEVER, GAVE CAMACHO AND HIS SPANISH WORKERS COMMISSIONS IMPORTANT BOOST BY REFERRING TO THEM AS "THE TRUE SPOKESMAN OF THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING MASSES OF THE COUNTRY." ALTHOUGH QUESTION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH GOS HAS NOT ADVANCED MUCH, WE NOTE RECENT MODERATE TONE IN SOVIET PRESS TOWARDS GOS AND LACK OF FORCEFUL SOVIET REACTION TO GOS REFUSAL TO GIVE PASSPORTS TO PCE SEC GEN SANTIAGO CARILLO AND DOLORES IBARRURI. END SUMMARY.

2. IN CONVERSATIONS WITH EUGENION BREGOLAT OBIOLS, DCM AT SPANISH TRADE MISSION HERE, AND FRANCISCO EGUIAGARAY OF EFE PRESS AGENCY, WE HAVE PUT TOGETHER FOLLOWING ON VISIT OF PCE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBER AND SPANISH WORKERS COMMISSION LEADER, MARCELINO CAMACHO. CAMACHO ARRIVED IN SOVIET UNION ON AUGUST 15 AS GUEST OF SOVIET TRADE UNIONS. ONLY TRUD, TRADE UNION DAILY, CARRIED ANNOUNCEMENT OF HIS ARRIVAL AND SUBSEQUENT REPORTS ON HIS VISIT, EXCEPT FOR SHORT TV SPOT ON CAMACHO LAYING WREATH AT LENIN'S TOMB WITH ACCOMPANYING COMMENTS ON IMPORTANCE OF VISITS FOR SOLIDARITY OF SPANISH AND SOVIET WORKERS AND FOR STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY IN SPAIN. PART OF FIVE MINUTE TV SPOT WAS SHORT INTERVIEW AS REPORTED REFTEL. CAMACHO TOOK SIDE TRIPS TO NOVOSIBIRSK, TBILISI, LENINGRAD AND VOLGOGRAD AND RETURNED TO MOSCOW FOR ADDITIONAL VISITS WITH OFFICIALS AND PRESS CONFERENCE TO WHICH ONLY SOVIET JOURNALISTS WERE INVITED. TO OUR KNOWLEDGE, NO ANNOUNCEMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE ABOUT HIGH LEVEL MEETINGS BY CAMACHO WITH OTHER THAN SOVIET TRADE UNION LEADERS. CAMACHO REPORTEDLY LEFT FOR PARIS ON AUGUST 30. BREGOLAT THOUGHT VISIT WAS CAMACHO'S PILGRIMAGE FOLLOWING HIS PUBLIC APPEARANCE AS A COMMUNIST. HE SAW SIGNIFICANCE IN FACT THAT ONLY CAMACHO, AND NO ONE ELSE FROM PCE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, CAME TO MOSCOW FOLLOWING ROME EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING.

3. WHILE TREATMENT OF CAMACHO APPEARS TO BE APPROPRIATE WITH THE LEVEL AND KIND OF VISITOR HE WAS, WE WERE STRUCK CONFIDENTIAL

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BY SEPTEMBER 2 ARTICLE IN PRAVDA WHICH, INTER ALIA, GAVE HIM DELAYED SENDOFF PRESENT BY REFERRING TO HIS WORKERS COMMISSIONS AS "THE TRUE SPOKESMAN OF THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING MASSES OF THE COUNTRY." THIS KUDO APPEARED IN ARTICLE IN CONTEXT OF LIST OF LEFTIST POLITICAL GROUPS AND PARTIES OF THE "DEMOCRATIC" OPPOSITION. PCE HEADED LIST, BUT RECEIVED NO SPECIAL ENCOMIUM.

4. PRAVDA'S SEPTEMBER 2 STORY BY A. KRASIKOV, WHO, EGUIAGARAY TELLS US, LEFT FOR SPAIN ON SPECIAL ASSIGNMENT TWO WEEKS AGO, WAS ALSO NOTEWORTHY AS LATEST OF A SERIES OF INCREASINGLY FAVORABLE STORIES OF GOS AND DEVELOPMENTS IN SPAIN. THERE HAS BEEN NOTICEABLE DIMINUTION IN THE SOVIET

PRESS LATELY IN THE NUMBER AND STRENGTH OF ATTACKS ON GOS FOR ANTI-DEMOCRATIC PRACTICES AND TENDENCIES. SMALL CRITICAL SNIPITS STILL APPEAR BUT LONGER ARTICLES HAVE BEEN ACCENTING GAINS MADE IN LAST MONTHS TOWARDS REAL DEMOCRACY. GOS'S FAILURE TO LEGALIZE PCE IS MAJOR, BUT MUTED, COMPLAINT IN SOVIET PRESS. EVEN ON THIS COUNT, PRAVDA SAW FIT TO MENTION ON SEPTEMBER 2 THAT "THE FORMALLY ILLEGAL DEMOCRATIC PARTIES NOW HAVE THE POSSIBILITY OF ACTING OPENLY AFTER MANY YEARS UNDERGROUND." ARTICLE WENT ON TO MENTION THAT GOS MUST NOW TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION THE FORCES OF THE LEFT IN DEALING WITH THE SITUATION IN SPAIN. ONLY A FEW MONTHS AGO, THE PRESENT ACTIVITY AND INFLUENCE OF THE LEFT COULD NOT HAVE BEEN IMAGINED, SAYS PRAVDA. MEMBER OF WORKERS COMMISSIONS SECRETARIAT, JULIAN ARISA, IS QUOTED THAT "WE BELIEVE THAT SPAIN WILL BE A FREE AND DEMOCRATIC COUNTRY."

5. BREGOLAT AND OTHERS AT TRADE MISSION HAVE NOTICED CHANGING ATTITUDE OF THE SOVIETS TOWARDS GOS, ALTHOUGH THEY DO NOT SEE ANY MOVEMENTS ON THE RECOGNITION ISSUE. BREGOLAT FEELS THAT SOME GESTURE BY GOS TOWARD LEGALIZATION OF PCE WILL BE NECESSARY BEFORE FULL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS CAN BE ESTABLISHED. GOS, HE THOUGHT, WE IN NO HURRY TO MAKE GESTURE, AND SOVIETS ARE CONTENT, FOR MOMENT, TO LET DEVELOPMENTS PROCEED AT THEIR OWN PACE WITHOUT PUSHING FOR LEGALIZATION.

6. WE ARE ALSO STRUCK BY THE RELATIVELY CALM SOVIET REACTION TO GOS REFUSAL TO GIVE PASSPORTS TO SECRETARY
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GENERAL OF PCE CARRILLO AND OCTOGENARIAN MATRIACH OF PCE, DOLORES "LA PASIONARIA" IBARRURI. SHORT ITEM IN PRAVDA AUGUST 27 CONTAINING ONE SENTENCE REBUKE TO GOS WAS ALL NOTICE CENTRAL PRESS ORGANS GAVE TO MATTER. ON AUGUST 30 SOVIET SKAYA ROSSIYA, RSFSR DAILY, GAVE MORE SPACE TO STORY, HOWEVER, OVERALL NEGATIVE SLANT WAS RESTRAINED. IN ANY CASE SOVIETSKAYA ROSSIYA'S POPGUN GOES VIRTUALLY UNHEARD WHEN REAL CANON, PRAVDA, DEVOTES SUBSTANTIAL SPACE THREE DAYS LATER TO ARTICLE GIVING BASICALLY SYMPATHETIC ACCOUNT OF SPANISH DEVELOPMENTS AND GOS POLICIES AND CHOOSES TO IGNORE PASSPORT ISSUE ENTIRELY. PRAVDA SEPTEMBER 4 HAS REPORT ON IBARRURI INTERVIEW IN BELGRADE QUOTING HER AS SAYING SHE "NEEDS TO BE IN THE COUNTRY (SPAIN)" AND IS READY TO RETURN ANYTIME. BUT STORY FAILS TO MENTION WHY SHE IS UNABLE TO ENTER SPAIN.

7. COMMENT: SPAIN IS, AS PRAVDA'S SEPTEMBER 2 HEADLINE PUT IT, IN A TIME OF CHANGE, AND GIVEN SOVIET RELUCTANCE TO COMMIT THEMSELVES WHEN EVENTS ARE IN FLUX AND OUTCOMES UNCERTAIN, IT IS NOT SURPRISING THAT THEY ARE HEDGING THEIR BETS FOR PRESENT. THEY SEEM TO BE MAKING THREE POINTS TO ONLOOKERS.

-- THEY COULD LIVE WITH PRESENT REGIME, BUT WOULD LIKE TO SEE MORE "PROGRESSIVE" MEASURES, E.G. LEGALIZATION OF PCE, BEFORE MOVING TO RECOGNIZE IT.

-- CAMACHO MAY BE USEFUL COUNTERWEIGHT TO CARRILLO AND HIS INDEPENDENT POWER BASE IN SPANISH WORKERS COMMISSIONS COULD MAKE HIM POTENTIAL RIVAL, ALTHOUGH SOVIETS PROBABLY HAVE NO ILLUSIONS THAT HE WOULD ADOPT SUBSTANTIALLY DIFFERENT ATTITUDE TOWARDS THEM THAN CARRILLO. IN ANY CASE, HE IS LEGALLY ON THE SCENE IN SPAIN AND IS WORTH CULTIVATING.

-- CARRILLO CAN COOL HIS HEELS FOR MOMENT. SINCE HE GAVE LITTLE SUCCOR TO SOVIETS IN THEIR HOUR OF NEED AT ECPC IN BERLIN, QUITE THE CONTRARY, THEN HE CAN EXPECT LITTLE SOVIET SUPPORT NOW IN HIS ATTEMPTS TO GET BACK INTO SPAIN LEGALLY AND TO WORK ON BUILDINGS UP HIS FOLLOWING THERE.

8. WE CAN EXPECT THAT THE SOVIETS WILL WAIT FOR CLEARER INDICATIONS OF HOW SPANISH SITUATION WILL DEVELOP BEFORE
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THEY WILL MAKE ANY DECISIVE MOVE. FOR THE TIME BEING IT IS "WAIT AND SEE".
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BONN
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THE HAGUE
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